1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

587 It may be noted that this custom may conflict with the other custom, previously mentioned, that a woman objects to marrying a man younger than herself. In the case mentioned by Mr Man a young man was compelled to marry a woman who was considerably his senior[1].

I believe that, in connection with, or underlying this custom there was an objection against a widow marrying a man who was older than her former husband (and who would therefore be his *ot-otoatue*). I regret that I cannot speak with certainty on these matters.

●854 We may turn now to the duties to one another of parents and children. During their infancy the children are in the care of the mother. Children are, however, such favourites with the Andamanese that a child is played with and petted and nursed not only by his own father and mother but by everyone in the village. A woman with an unweaned child will often give suck [853] to the children of other women. Babies are not weaned till they are three or four years old.

[482] Before the children can walk, they are carried about by the mother, and sometimes by the father or other persons, in a bark sling (called *čiba* in *Aka-Jeru*), which is shown in Plate XIV.

857 After they can walk the children generally accompany their mothers in their expeditions near the camp for firewood or vegetables. When they are not with their mothers they amuse themselves with games in the village or on the beach. All the children of the coast villages learn to swim when they are very young, in fact almost as soon as they learn to walk, and many of their games are conducted in the water.

868 When a boy reaches the age of five or six his father makes him a toy bow and arrows, and sometimes a toy canoe. From this time the boy begins to learn the occupations of men and begins to pick up knowledge about the animals and trees and fishes of his country. The girl, accompanying her mother on her expeditions to gather roots and seeds, or to catch fish or pick up molluscs on the reefs, learns what it is necessary for women to know.

855 Until the age of about eight to ten a child lives with his

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 139.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE XIV

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A woman with her child

[p.126A]

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

arises from no want of consideration for the weaker vessel, but simply because, if unnecessarily encumbered, the men would be unable to shoot or pursue any animal which might cross their path.

7. Such training as the children receive is undertaken by their parents or guardians; in the case of boys it consists merely in providing them with miniature weapons suitable to their age, and instructing them in their use: as they advance in years they accompany the men in their hunting and fishing expeditions, and, being by nature intelligent and emulous, they speedily acquire sufficient skill to enable them to afford material assistance to their elders.

8. The girls, similarly, are taught by their mothers, or other female guardians, how to fulfil the various duties which are regarded as essentially pertaining to their sex, and which I have described in the foregoing.

9. It seems hardly necessary to add that the unnatural custom of infanticide is unknown to the Andamanese,[1] and though the mortality among infants is excessive,[2] it is traceable to no want of affection, but to the injudicious treatment and lavish attentions bestowed upon the little ones by their ignorant though well-intentioned elders.[3]

10. For the better security of their babies, when travelling, women are in the habit of hanging round their necks a string the ends of which have been previously fastened to the infant's wrists; the child being then placed in a *chīp-*,[4] cannot by any accident meet with a serious fall.

Attire.—1. Madame de Staël speaks of certain children being "*vêtu dw climât:*" the same expressive remark may be applied to the Andamanese, for no clothing, as we understand the word, is worn by either sex; there are, however, certain so-called ornamental circlets, garters, bracelets, cinctures, and necklaces of bones,[5] wood, or shell, which are its substitute[6] and serve to

[1] The birth of a girl is usually as gratifying to the parents as that of a boy.

[2] *Vide ante* "Reproduction," paragraph 4.

[3] Dr. Day has correctly stated that "men and women seem equally fond of carrying the babies about; all pet them; when they cry for anything, they give it; and over-kindness early consigns the little one to the grave."

[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 24.

[5] As far as we at present know, the *jārawa-* do not wear necklaces of bone, or the skulls of their deceased relatives. The males of this tribe wear round their heads, waists, knees, and arms, fringes of string attached to a cord or cane, which are called by the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-*, *bē·ria-* (*vide* Plate IX, figs. 13, 13*a*, 13*b*).

[6] The relatives of a deceased person will commonly wear such of the ornaments as are in good condition, "in memoriam;" this is not, however, a distinguishing peculiarity, or one confined to savages.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Plate C.

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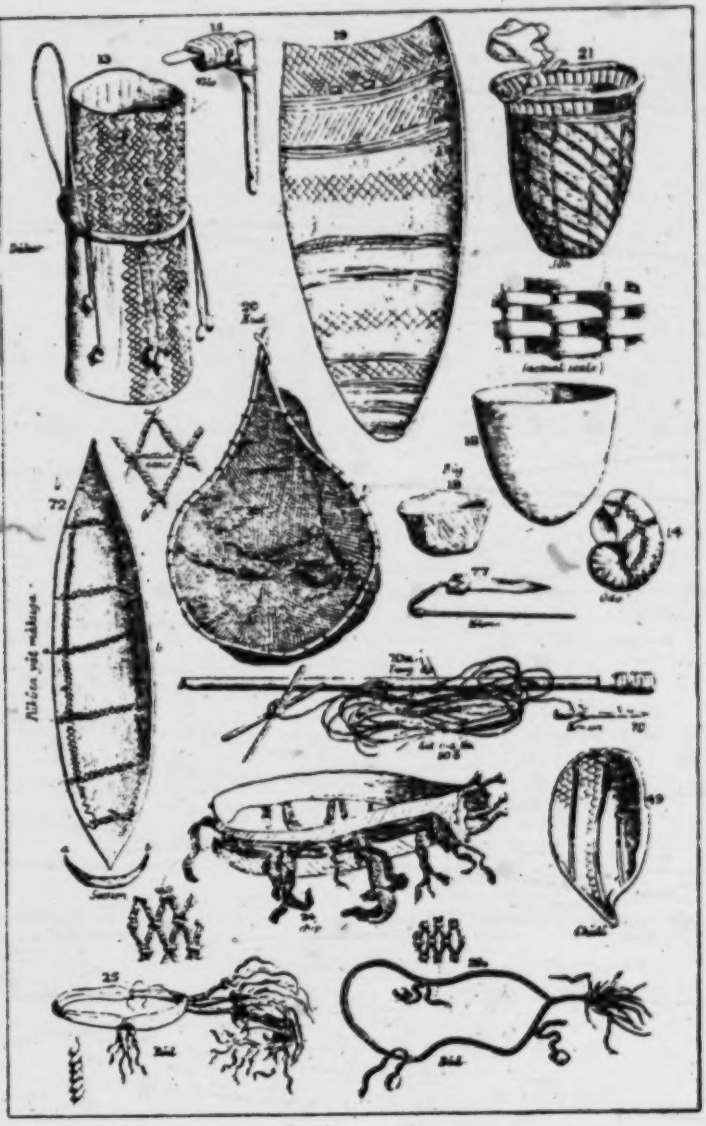

ANDAMANESE OBJECTS.

[facing p. 178]

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

534 convex side is uppermost; the pointed end is stuck in the ground, and kept in position with one foot; a stone is then placed under the board to enable the performer to make more noise when keeping time, which he does by thumping or kicking the board with the heel of the other foot.

227 462 20. *kūd-*.[1] Hand fishing-net constructed from the prepared fibre of the *Gnetum edule* (Andam., *pīlita-*) by women and girls, who also by its means catch large quantities of fish and prawns, both in streams and among rocks along the coast at low tide. It is about the size of an ordinary butterfly-net; the frame is made of a length of a creeper known to them as *ōrtatāt-*, the ends being bound together to form a handle.

285 462 21. *jōb-*.[2] Baskets used by all the Great Andaman tribes for carrying food and various other articles: they are generally made by women.[3]

[NOTE.—The baskets made by the *yērewa-* or North Andaman tribes, differ from those found among the *bōjig* tribes in having a wider base and a smaller mouth.[4]]

21*a*. The *jārawa-*[5] baskets differ from those in use among the Great Andaman tribes in having no firm base.

286 462 22. *chāpanga-*.[6] Netted reticules made and used by women for carrying small objects: the string used for this purpose is generally prepared from the fibre of the *Anadendrum paniculatum* (Andam., *yōlba-*, item 64), but as this is not always obtainable the less-valued fibre of the *Gnetum edule* (Andam., *pīlita-*) is sometimes employed as a substitute.

23. *pārepa-*.[7] Sleeping mat made by women of strips of a species of *Calamus* fastened securely in the ordinary manner with string made from the fibre of the *Gnetum edule* (Andam., *pīlita-*, item 65). When in use the rolled-up portion of these mats—which are generally 15 to 20 feet long—serves as a pillow.

23*a*. The *jārawa-*[8] sleeping mats hitherto found have always been of short lengths, but as wooden pillows similar to those in use among the Nicobarese have been found in their huts, it is probable that the specimens obtained represent full sized mats.

854 462 24. *chīp-*.[9] Sling or band made by women from the bark of

[1] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 18.
[2] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 17.
[3] *Vide* Part III, "Basket-work," paragraphs 2 and 3.
[4] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 14.
[5] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 14*a*.
[6] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 33.
[7] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 15.
[8] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 15*a*.
[9] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 25.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

the *Melochia velutina* (Andam., *al·aba-*), which is worn like a sash over one shoulder by women, and sometimes by men, when carrying infants.[1]

The plain specimens are called *chīp-lū·pa-*.

Those ornamented with netting *chīp-rā·b-*.

Those ornamented with shells *chīp-yâ·mnga-*.

25. *bōd-*.[2] Waistbelt made from the leaves of the young screw-pine (*Pandanus Andamanensium*); the bunch of leaves or tail is worn at the back.

[NOTE.—These specimens are of the kind worn by women and girls of the eight Great Andaman tribes; the females of the *jārawa-* tribes appear to go entirely nude.]

25*a*. *bōd-*.[3] Waistbelts of similar description, but having a less bushy tail, are worn more or less generally by men and youths of the eight Great Andaman tribes.

26. *rō·gun-*.[4] Belt made from the leaves of the young screw-pine, which is worn by adult married women only.

27. *tâ-chô·nga-*.[5] Garters, which are frequently worn by men and youths: they are made in the same way as the *bōd-* (item 25.)

28. *tô·go-chô·nga-*.[6] Bracelets, also worn by men and youths, much resembling the last-named object.

29. *gar·en-pē·ta-*.[7] Ornamental waistbelt of *Dentalium octogonum*, which is worn occasionally by both sexes.

30. *bē·ria-*[8] *jār·awa-* waistbelts, necklets, and armlets, which are believed to be worn by men and youths only.

31. *ij·i-gō·nga-*.[9] Head-dress of Pandanus-leaf, worn occasionally by young men and women.

The following ten articles are worn by both sexes as ornaments either round the neck or head:—

32. *ī·na-ó·la-tâ-*[10]	..	made of fresh water-shells.
33. *pē·r-tâ-* ..	..	„ cane or wood.
34. *yâ·dī-tâ-*[11]	..	„ turtle bones.
35. *bai·an-tâ-*	..	„ paradoxurus bones.
36. *dū·ku-tâ-*[12]	..	„ iguana bones.

[1] *Vide* Part III, "Social Relations, &c.," paragraph 10.
[2] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 27.
[3] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 27*a*.
[4] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 29.
[5] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 9.
[6] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 8.
[7] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 35.
[8] *Vide* Plate IX, figs. 13, 13*a*, and 13*b*.
[9] *Vide* Plate IX, figs. 6 and 6*a*.
[10] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 42.
[11] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 38.
[12] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 40.

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

documented the fact in a number of photographs. The purpose, however, is purely hygienic: an unpainted body is, in their opinion, exposed to certain illness. They explained this belief to me by saying that without paint the body becomes "hot". The men who travelled with me far from women were anxious every day to spread clay on face, chest and limbs, just to avoid "heat" or, in other words, fever. I thought of malaria, but they do not suffer from it. Of this I will speak later on.

Rough clay is applied daily, on infant bodies as well as on adults, for health purposes. It is used to cure all kinds of sickness, together with ochre, turtle fat and honey. Honey spread on wounds appears to hasten healing. Identical curative methods are employed in Oceania. They probably existed among the Tasmanians, and are still used in Australia by the aborigines. I found nothing of the kind in Africa, where honey is plentiful. The Onge consider clay, ochre, honey and turtle fat good for external and internal treatment alike – both preventive and curative. Powdered bees' wax of a dark colour is often added. I saw mothers give their children, as a laxative, a number of pills made of similar ingredients. No bigger than common hazelnuts, the pills are red and greasy. In Onge forests I saw some small excavations, a few feet deep, made to extract the medicinal clay from special ground pockets. In its natural form the clay is light coloured, powdery and free of stones. When it is burnt the colour changes, assuming red, yellow, whitish or black shades according to the different qualities used, all believed to possess healing properties and to ensure hygienic colouring of the body. Mixed as described above, clay is used by the Onge in every circumstance from fever to snake or scorpion bite, constipation, breast infection in women, or post-delivery bleeding.

Belief in the medicinal properties of clay is as old as humanity itself. Even among contemporary European peoples, notwithstanding severe criticism, clay is still honoured as health-giving, not, I must say, on wholly foolish grounds. The Onge, who smear their bodies constantly with clay, have the softest, most velvety skin that I ever saw anywhere in the world. Wounds spread with clay mixed with honey and fat leave negligible scars. The laxative and germ-killing action of clay is admitted by physicians in many countries, including Europe. It never causes infection. Geophagism has ancient origins, and we find it practiced by many modern populations. Children of every race and all young wild animals lick clay instinctively to absorb the mineral salts required by a developing organism. The Onge habit of using clay for healing purposes can be set, therefore, in a very wide frame.

Mental and nervous disorders are rare in Little Andaman. Few natives are subject to epilepsy – an important matter for the Onge: they consider such people as possessed by spirits who speak through their mouths, and respectfully question them as oracles. Several Onge chiefs, such as Chief Tchōtā of Tambē-ē-buiē, are apt to go into trances that have all the appearance of epileptic fits. They were elected chiefs on the strength of their epilepsy!

Constant exercise keeps eyesight and hearing extremely sharp in the Onge. I saw no single case of myopia or presbyopia among the natives, nor

9:Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Jarawa

123 The second trip was made on March 12th 1948. Our party included Mr. JOSEPH and Mr. POOVIAH [1], both Sub-divisional Officers of the forest department, one Burman bush police and four Andamanese with their two canoes tied behind our motor boat. We followed the same route from Long Island and, reaching Spike Island, we anchored at its northeastern corner. We came ashore in the canoes. The beach was small and rocky. Part of it was sheltered on one side by huge rocks behind which the Jarawa were known to waylay those approaching from the sea. So we landed very cautiously. Just at the outskirts of the jungle we saw huge bundles of short bamboo lengths tied to one another and piled up in a heap. It was a Jarawa raft. Near the bamboo pile were three crude paddles split from the spadix of the palm called *Nipa fruticans*. We were all the more careful in our approach.

[501] [824]

[361] Soon we came upon a clearing in the jungle. There was no Jarawa, but all around we saw traces of a temporary halt of a large party. We counted nineteen [342] fireplaces. At a distance from the fireplaces we saw a small temporary hut [622] improvised out of the materials available on the spot. Two small shrubs were tied together on two sides to form the roof of the hut. The Andamanese identified it to have been made for the Jarawa chief and his wife. Household objects lay scattered about. Three bamboo cylinders, closed at one end by the natural node, were found next to three of the fireplaces. They are used for carrying water. A dark coloured modern glass bottle, probably acquired during a raid, was also found. One fireplace had a small compartment enclosed by a few wooden posts a few yards off. The Andamanese identified it as an enclosure for keeping a child at a safe distance from the fire. This was probably correct as there was also a baby sling made of bark, exactly similar to that used by the Onge for carrying a baby on its mother's back (VON EICKSTEDT, 1934, fig. 211). At one corner of a fireplace the shavings of an arrowshaft or a bow were seen and nearby was a flat round pebble, one end of which was broken like that of a scraper (fig. 3). This scraper showed marks of red ochre on it. Beneath a tree a circular mat, sewn out of three pieces of long triangular palm-like leaves was spread out, while on its branches was found a beautiful specimen of an unstrung bow. It appeared to have been recently prepared and

[415] [824] [412] [177] [415] [354] [417] [855] [854] [412] [412]

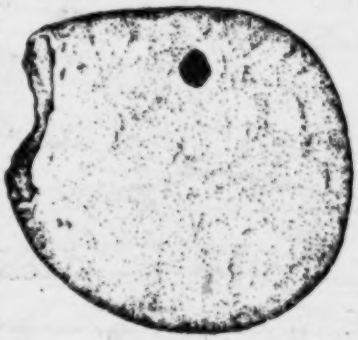

Fig. 3

[1] These two officers captured two Jarawa males, one adult and one boy, on October 19th 1948 on Spike Island. They were brought to Port Blair, wherefrom they managed to escape at night.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onges

the finger-tips and almost pink, with pale chocolate moons and yellowish-brown palms and soles. In the adults the nails and soles of the feet remain pale, the palms being a little darker. The head, and the visible buccal and nasal epithelia, were almost black, and the gums were pink, as was the inside of the lips, with dark petechiae, in adults very noticeable, at the base of the teeth and over the tongue and palate. The cheeks, however, were a reddish-brown, although the whole skin was already showing signs of darkening after twelve hours. Nasal cartilage was minimal, but that of the ears well-developed. The darkest area of skin were the forehead, eye sockets, lids, nipples and genitalia.

In general, therefore, the infant's skin was very slightly lighter than that of the adults, though before I could be sure of this I had to wash off the thick layer of ochre which is smeared over the unwashed infants immediately after birth. As the infants are extremely carefully protected from the sun by 'umbrella' hats made of lobed palm leaves, the darkening, which is complete by the end of the first year, is clearly biological and is not effected by tanning. As, however, the Onges interchange or 'adopt' children freely, it was impossible to carry out any proper colorimetric observations.

I saw no albinos in the Onges, usually fairly common in dark-skinned peoples. I saw several in Africa, with apparently normal parents. Some African peoples destroy albinos at birth as they do those with deformities, and the Andamanese may do the same, as I saw little congenital deformity (see, however, p. 46). Fear of being held responsible for disasters which befall the group carries great weight, and it is possible that the two cases of abnormality which I did see did not manifest symptoms at birth. Twins, however, are clearly (and gladly) accepted, so eager are the Onges to have children.

It was already clear in the infant that it would have the somatic characteristics common to all Negritos as regards the proportions of the body, the form and dimensions of the head, absence of prognathism, comparatively fine lips, nose and ears, black skin, and woolly hair, and would be well below 1·5 metres in height when fully grown. Above all, the Andamanese have a large forehead, very wide-angled jaw and large mouths, with the upper lips not invariably full, as in Negroes. Many Onges, in fact, have fine features,

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onges

and the 'peppercorn' hair (disposed in tufts with bare areas) do indeed recall the Bushmen, but superficial resemblances are not enough to classify the two peoples as at all closely related. There is an important difference between the two in the structure and cross-section of the hair. Hairs from the Onges which were examined in Calcutta were remarkably uniform, indicating the racial purity of the people, unlike those of the Arioto, which showed considerable variation in cross-section, from the almost circular straight hair of the Mongoloid type, to the flattened, almost remiform hair of the original Negritos.

Different, too, is the shape of the head; I have never seen in the Negritos the typical Bushmen head, with the prominent occiput, and I saw no Andamanese with the pseudo-mongoloid appearance of the eyes which occurs in Bushmen.

The hands and feet are also different. Among the Kung women of the northern Kalahari in particular I saw delicate hands with very long metacarpals and a very small thumb, the elongated metacarpals displacing the thumb towards the wrist. None of the Negritos appear to have anything resembling this; their hands are always rather broad. Moreover, the feet of the male Onges are nearly always flat while those of the women tend to turn in, recalling the small peoples of Indonesia and New Guinea, but not the Bushmen.

An interesting though not congenital abnormality in the Andamanese results from the carrying of weights slung from the head from too early an age. Loads are always carried on their backs by a rope made of bark, the weight being taken on the forehead. The rope presses on the head in the region of the bregma and creates the so-called bregmatic furrow. This is more marked in females, as the women normally do most of the carrying. Even the children travel on their parents' backs, hanging like parcels, until the age of five or six when they are old enough to follow the group on their own.

The Abor, a mongoloid people of small stature in the mountains of North-West Assam, carry loads in the same way, but with no resulting head furrow. The Andamanese have softer cranial bones, and the result of load-bearing is therefore clearly visible. As it occurs in both sexes, it is often hard if not impossible to determine sex from skulls if the pelvis is absent. The long bones are not of

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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1 The author with two adult islanders

[facing P. 66, A]

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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5 *Above* Mother feeding her baby from a Nautilus shell
6 *Right* The axe is one of the few primitive tools in use in the Andamans

[Facing P. 66, D]

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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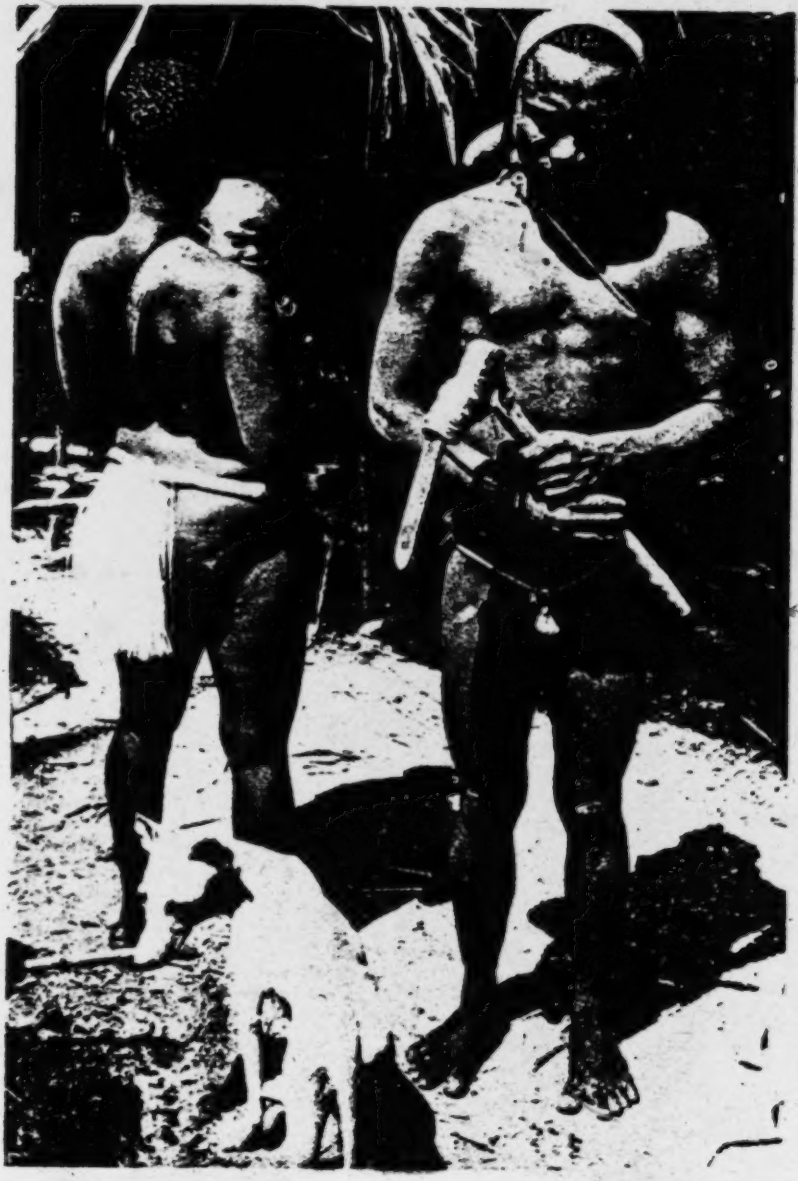

[facing P. 66, E]

/8 ... The axe is one of the few primitive tools in use in the Andamans/

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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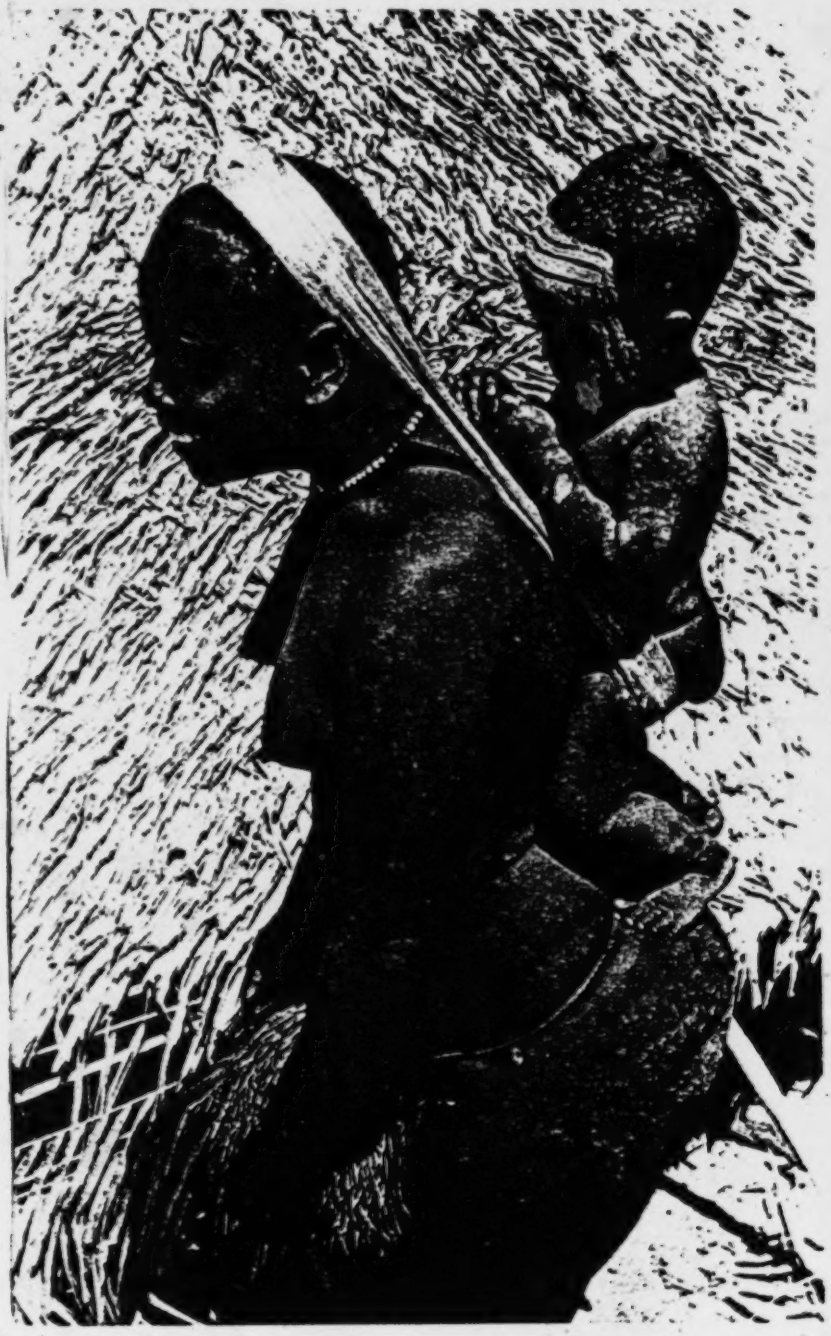

[facing P. 66, I]

/13 Mother and child/

18: Kleiweg de Zwaan E-5 (1906-1910) 1925 OB1 Indonesia
Andamans AZA

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Fig. 12. Mincopie Woman of the Andamans

Photo A. R. Brown.